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## **Visual narrative: The 'Aeneid' woodcuts from Sebastian Brant's edition of Virgil (Strasbourg 1502) in Thomas Murner's translation of the 'Aeneid' (Strasbourg 1515)**

Frick, Julia

**Abstract:** Thomas Murner's translation of Virgil's Aeneid into German (Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger 1515) is accompanied by a selection of 112 of the 143 Aeneid woodcuts from the complete edition of Virgil's works edited by Sebastian Brant. The latter had been published by Johann Grüninger in Strasbourg in 1502, thirteen years before Murner's translation. Research has demonstrated that Brant was involved in the production of the woodcuts as a "concepteur": the extremely detailed interpretation of the text by means of images implies a thorough knowledge of Virgil's text, while the resulting visual narrative, in addition to the textual understanding supplied by the Latin writing, creates a striking and absorbing display. It can be demonstrated that Thomas Murner knew Brant's edition and this raises the question of whether Murner was influenced by the familiar woodcuts in his translation of the Aeneid. He, just like Brant, attributed great value not only to the illustrative and mnemonic function of the image, but also to the close relationship between the text and the image. Indeed, the influence of the Aeneid illustrations on Murner's understanding of the Latin text can be observed in some places in his translation, demonstrating a dual translation process: the transposition of the Latin text into a pictorial form, which was then translated back into the German language.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110563016-009>

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ZORA URL: <https://doi.org/10.5167/uzh-183338>

Book Section

Published Version



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Originally published at:

Frick, Julia (2019). Visual narrative: The 'Aeneid' woodcuts from Sebastian Brant's edition of Virgil (Strasbourg 1502) in Thomas Murner's translation of the 'Aeneid' (Strasbourg 1515). In: Besamusca, Bart; de Bruijn, Elisabeth; Willaert, Frank. Early printed narrative literature in Western Europe. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 241-271.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110563016-009>

## **Early Printed Narrative Literature in Western Europe**



# Early Printed Narrative Literature in Western Europe



Edited by  
Bart Besamusca, Elisabeth de Bruijn and  
Frank Willaert

**DE GRUYTER**

ISBN 978-3-11-056300-9

e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-056301-6

e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-056310-8



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**Library of Congress Control Number: 2019938240**

**Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek**

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available from the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

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The book is published with open access at [www.degruyter.com](http://www.degruyter.com).

Cover image: Western Europe in the sixteenth century. Source: Abraham Ortelius, *Theatre, oft: Toonneel des aerdtbodems waer in te siene sijn die landt-tafelen der geheelder weerelt, met een corte verclaringe der selver*. Printed by Gielis van Diest (Antwerp, 1571), copy: Museum Plantin-Moretus: Preciosa, R 39.7. Design: Typografie Frederik Hulstaert  
Typesetting: Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.  
Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

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Julia Frick


# Visual Narrative: The *Aeneid* Woodcuts from Sebastian Brant's Edition of Virgil (Strasbourg 1502) in Thomas Murner's Translation of the *Aeneid* (Strasbourg 1515)

**Abstracts:** Thomas Murner's translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* into German (Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger 1515) is accompanied by a selection of 112 of the 143 *Aeneid* woodcuts from the complete edition of Virgil's works edited by Sebastian Brant. The latter had been published by Johann Grüninger in Strasbourg in 1502, thirteen years before Murner's translation. Research has demonstrated that Brant was involved in the production of the woodcuts as a "concepteur": the extremely detailed interpretation of the text by means of images implies a thorough knowledge of Virgil's text, while the resulting visual narrative, in addition to the textual understanding supplied by the Latin writing, creates a striking and absorbing display. It can be demonstrated that Thomas Murner knew Brant's edition and this raises the question of whether Murner was influenced by the familiar woodcuts in his translation of the *Aeneid*. He, just like Brant, attributed great value not only to the illustrative and mnemonic function of the image, but also to the close relationship between the text and the image. Indeed, the influence of the *Aeneid* illustrations on Murner's understanding of the Latin text can be observed in some places in his translation, demonstrating a dual translation process: the transposition of the Latin text into a pictorial form, which was then translated back into the German language.

Thomas Murner übersetzte als erster Vergils *Aeneis* in die deutsche Sprache (Straßburg: Johann Grüninger 1515). Seiner Übersetzung ist eine Auswahl von 112 der 143 *Aeneis*-Holzschnitte beigegeben, die der von Sebastian Brant betreuten Gesamtausgabe der Werke Vergils entstammen. Johann Grüninger hatte sie im Jahr 1502, 13 Jahre vor Murners Übersetzung, in Straßburg verlegt. Die Forschung hat herausgearbeitet, dass Brant bei der Herstellung der Holzschnitte als 'Concepteur' tätig war: Die äußerst detailreiche Umsetzung des Textes ins Bild setzt eine intensive Kenntnis des vergilischen Textes voraus und eröffnet als visuelles Narrativ neben dem sich aus der lateinischen Schriftlichkeit speisenden Textverständnis eine ostentative Aufnahme durch das visuelle Medium. Thomas Murner hat Brants Ausgabe nachweislich gekannt, was die Frage aufwirft, ob Murner sich bei seiner *Aeneis*-Übersetzung von den ihm bekannten Holzschnitten hat beeinflussen lassen, maß er doch selbst ebenso wie Brant nicht nur der illustrativen und memorativen Funktion des Bildes, sondern auch dem engen Bezug von Text und Bild großen Wert bei. Tatsächlich ist der Einfluss der *Aeneis*-Illustrationen auf das Verständnis des lateinischen Textes an einigen Stellen in Murners Übersetzung zu beobachten, was den Vorgang eines doppelten Übersetzens dokumentiert: das Überführen des lateinischen Textwortes in eine picturale Formel, die wiederum in die deutsche Sprache rückübersetzt wird.

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<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110563016-009>

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Heruntergeladen am | 07.11.19 11:52



Thomas Murner (1475–1537) was the first to translate Virgil's *Aeneid*, a key poetic text in the world of Western education, into German.<sup>1</sup> In line with the printing tradition of the *Aeneid*, the Supplement, written by the Italian Humanist Maffeo Vegio (1407–1458) in Pavia in 1428, is appended to Murner's translation of Virgil's twelve books. It has been considered an integral part of Virgil editions since its *editio princeps* (Venice: Adam von Ambergau, 1471)<sup>2</sup>; known as the 13th book, its content positions the Supplement at the end of the *Aeneid* and employs the prophecies given in the epic to drive the plot forward to a conclusion allegedly intended by Virgil.<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, the first printed edition of 1515 adds a selection of 112 of the 143 *Aeneid* woodcuts to the German text, all derived from Sebastian Brant's (1457–1521) major complete edition of Virgil's work; they had already appeared in an identical fashion in Strasbourg in Johann Grüninger's work thirteen years prior to Murner's translation.<sup>4</sup> The reuse of the woodcuts, which, for economic reasons, was common and natural at the time, has remarkable historical and cultural significance in this particular instance.

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1 [Thomas Murner,] *Vergilij maronis dryzehen Aeneadischen Bücher von Troianischer zerstörung / vnd vffgang des Römischen Reichs. durch doctor Murner vertütst*. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 1515 (VD16 V 1426). An edition with an introductory analysis has been compiled by this author at the Albert-Ludwigs-University of Freiburg in the context of a DFG project (supervisor: Prof. Nikolaus Henkel). See Julia Frick, *Thomas Murners 'Aeneis'-Übersetzung. (Straßburg 1515). Lateinisch-deutsche Edition und Untersuchungen*. Diss. Freiburg i. Br. 2016 (the publication is planned for 2019). For general information on Murner, see Franz Josef Worstbrock, 'Murner, Thomas'. In: *Deutscher Humanismus 1480–1520. Verfasserlexikon*. Ed. Franz Josef Worstbrock. Vol. 2. Berlin, New York 2013, cols. 300–368.

2 It has been evidenced as far back as the middle of the sixteenth century and earlier in printed editions of Virgil. See *Das Aeneissupplement des Maffeo Vegio*. Ed. and transl. by Bernd Schneider. Weinheim 1985, p. 13f.; Cf. *Maffeo Vegio. Short Epics*. Ed. by Michael C. J. Putnam. Cambridge 2004 (The I Tatti Renaissance Library 15).

3 The three significant prophecies in the *Aeneid* also have a metatextual function as they hand the reader a key to understanding the poetry. In addition to Jupiter's prophecy in the first book (*Aen.* 1.257–296), the Augustan presence is identified as the aim of Roman history in the prediction of the sixth book (*Aen.* 6.791–795; 881–853) and in the description of the shield in the eighth book (*Aen.* 8.626–729). Cf. Ernst A. Schmidt, 'Vergils Aeneis als augusteische Dichtung'. In: *Von Göttern und Menschen erzählen. Formkonstanten und Funktionswandel vor-moderner Epik*. Ed. by Jörg Rüpke. Stuttgart 2001 (Potsdamer altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 4), p. 89.

4 *Publij Virgilij Maronis opera cum quinque vulgatis commentariis expolitissimisque figuris atque imaginibus nuper per Sebastianum Brant superadditis exactissimeque reuisis atque eliminatis*. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 1502 (VD16 V 1332).

As Werner Suerbaum has correctly remarked in his commendable *Handbuch der illustrierten Vergil-Ausgaben*, instead of analysing the relationship between the illustrations and the German text, the more rewarding question is whether Murner was influenced by his knowledge of the woodcuts when writing his translation of the *Aeneid*.<sup>5</sup> This question is addressed in this essay.

## 1 Brant's Edition of Virgil in the Context of Grüninger's Publishing Programme

Johann Grüninger opened a printing business in Strasbourg in 1483.<sup>6</sup> His publications included both Latin and German texts in a variety of disciplines and genres.<sup>7</sup> He maintained active relationships with the leading personalities of Humanism in the Upper Rhine, including Sebastian Brant, Jakob Wimpfeling, Gregor Reisch, Heinrich Bebel, Jakob Locher and Martin Waldseemüller.<sup>8</sup> Some

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5 Werner Suerbaum, *Handbuch der illustrierten Vergil-Ausgaben 1502–1840. Geschichte, Typologie, Zyklen und kommentierter Katalog der Holzschnitte und Kupferstiche zur Aeneis in Alten Drucken. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Bestände der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München und ihrer Digitalisate von Bildern zu Werken des P. Vergilius Maro*. Hildesheim, New York 2008 (Bibliographien zur klassischen Philologie 3), p. 181.

6 For more on Grüninger, see Charles Schmidt, *Zur Geschichte der ältesten Bibliotheken und der ersten Buchdrucker zu Strassburg*. Strasbourg 1882. p. 112–118; Charles Schmidt, *Répertoire bibliographique strasbourgeois jusque vers 1530. I. Jean Grüninger 1483–1531*. Strasbourg 1894; Paul Kristeller, *Die Strassburger Bücher-Illustration im XV. und im Anfange des XVI. Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig 1888 (Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte. N. F. VII); Hermann Römer, 'Hans Grüninger und die Buchdruckerfamilie Reinhard aus Markgröningen'. In: H.R., *Markgröningen im Rahmen der Landesgeschichte. I. Urgeschichte und Mittelalter*. Markgröningen 1933, p. 277–331; François Ritter, *Histoire de l'imprimerie alsacienne aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles*. Strasbourg, Paris 1955, p. 81–110; and the more recent publications by Ferdinand Geldner, *Die deutschen Inkunabeldrucker*. 2 vols. 1. *Das deutsche Sprachgebiet*. 2. *Die fremden Sprachgebiete*. Stuttgart 1968–1970, p. 71–75; Miriam U. Chrisman, *Bibliography of Strasbourg Imprints 1488–1599*. New Haven 1982; Christoph Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet. Auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werkes von Josef Benzing*. Wiesbaden 2007 (Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen 51), p. 871f.

7 The GW attributes 209 printed editions to Grüninger and the VD16 a further 310. Reske (see note 6), p. 871 lists around 400 printed editions.

8 For more on literary life in Strasbourg, see Klaus Manger, *Literarisches Leben in Strassburg während der Prädikatur Johann Geilers von Kaysersberg (1478–1510)*. Heidelberg 1983 (Heidelberger Forschungen 24); Miriam U. Chrisman, *Lay Culture, Learned Culture. Books and Social Change in Strasbourg 1480–1599*. New Haven 1982; Stephen Mossman, Nigel F. Palmer

Humanist scholars occasionally worked as proof-readers for Grüninger's printing business<sup>9</sup>: Johann Adelphus Muling,<sup>10</sup> Matthias Ringmann<sup>11</sup> and Gervasius Sopher.<sup>12</sup> Latin editions of the Classics, which Grüninger had been publishing since the end of the fifteenth century, made up a significant proportion of his publications. These included editions of the works of Virgil, Terence, Horace, Cicero, Plautus, Ovid and Ptolemy.<sup>13</sup> This focus gained a higher profile with five

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and Felix Heinzer (eds), *Schreiben und Lesen in der Stadt. Literaturbetrieb im spätmittelalterlichen Straßburg*. Berlin 2012 (Kulturtopographie des alemannischen Raums 4).

**9** For more on the profession of *corrector* in the Early Modern Period, see Heinrich Grimm, 'Von dem Aufkommen eines eigenen Berufszweigs Korrektor und seinem Berufsbild im Buchdruck des XVI. Jahrhunderts'. In: *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 39 (1964), p. 185–190; Jürgen Geiß, 'Herausgeber, Korrektor, Verlagslektor? Sebastian Brant und die Basler *Petrarca*-Ausgabe von 1496'. In: *Sebastian Brant. Forschungsbeiträge zu seinem Leben, zum 'Narrenschiff' und zum übrigen Werk*. Ed. by Thomas Wilhelmi. Basel 2002, p. 83–102.

**10** Muling was intermittently employed by Grüninger as an editor and proofreader from 1505 to c. 1513. See Franz Josef Worstbrock, 'Muling, Johann Adelphus'. In: *Deutscher Humanismus 1480–1520. Verfasserlexikon*. Ed. by Franz Josef Worstbrock. Vol. 2. Berlin, New York 2013, col. 27. Muling is also named in the colophon of Murner's teaching on logic, *Logica memorativa* (VD16 J 661), as a *castigator*: *Nobis quoque plurimum gratiam referes* [i.e. *candide lector*]: *Necnon Ioanni Adelpho: viro secundum cor nostrum: huius operis castigatori*. (fol. Nv<sup>v</sup>) "You (i.e. dear reader) will offer us profuse thanks, but offer them also to Johann Adelphus, a man very dear to us and the corrector of this work."

**11** Ringmann worked as a proof reader for Grüninger in 1505–1506. See Franz Josef Worstbrock, 'Ringmann, Matthias'. In: *Deutscher Humanismus 1480–1520. Verfasserlexikon*. Ed. by Franz Josef Worstbrock. Vol. 2. Berlin, New York 2013, col. 727.

**12** Cf. Reske (see note 6), p. 871.

**13** P. Vergilius Maro, *Bucolica. Mit einem Kommentar des Hermannus Torrentinus*. [Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger]. GW M49908; P. Terentius Afer, *Comoediae. Mit einem Kommentar des Guido Juvenalis, Jodocus Badius Ascensius und Johannes Egidius*. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger 1. XI.1496. GW M45481; further edition 1499: GW M45485; further edition 1503: VD16 T 361; Q. Horatius Flaccus, *Opera*. Ed. by Jacobus Locher Philomusus. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger 12. III.1498. GW 13468; M. Tullius Cicero, *Somnium Scipionis*. [Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger after 1500]. GW 6. Sp.622a; P. Vergilius Maro, *Opera*. Ed. by Sebastian Brant. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger 1502. VD16 V 1332; P. Terentius Afer, *Comoediae sex*. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger 1503. VD16 T 361; P. Vergilius Maro, *Opera [Manuale Vergilianum]*. *Mit einem Kommentar des Jodocus Badius Ascensius*. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger 1505. VD16 ZV 15224; T. Maccius Plautus, *Comoediae*. Ed. by Johann Adelphus Muling. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger 1508. VD16 P 3379; T. Maccius Plautus, *Comoediae quattuor (Amphitryo. Aulularia. Duo Captivi et Menechmi)*. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger 1511. VD16 P 3401; further editions: VD16 3434; 3444; 4312. P. Terentius Afer, *Comoediae*. Ed. by Thomas Vogler. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger 1511. VD16 T 370; *Ovidii Nasonis Fastorum libri*. [Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger c. 1521]. VD16 O 1612; *Claudii Ptolemaei [...] opus Geographiæ*. Ed. by Lorenz Fries. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger 1522. VD16 P 5210; further edition: VD16 P 5211.

translations of classical texts into German, which were published at the same time as the Latin Classic editions were being printed: Terence, Livy, Caesar, Virgil's *Bucolics* and *Aeneid*.<sup>14</sup> The translations of these ancient texts were partly produced by the same Humanist writers Grüninger employed as scholarly proof-readers for the Latin texts (Muling, Ringmann). Three of the five translations (Terence, Virgil's *Bucolics* and *Aeneid*) were published shortly after the Latin editions issued by Grüninger.<sup>15</sup> Both the editions of the Classics and the translations display similarities in terms of the (folio) format and are characterised by the addition of woodcuts as paratextual elements. This choice testifies to the contemporary interest in ancient classical texts and translations, as well as in the presentation of textual content through the medium of images.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> For more on the reception of ancient Classics in Germany, see Franz Josef Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikerezeption 1450–1550. Teil I: Verzeichnis der deutschen Übersetzungen antiker Autoren. Mit einer Bibliographie der Übersetzer*. Boppard am Rhein 1976 (Veröffentlichungen zur Humanismusforschung 1). The numbers in the following list of translations are those used by Worstbrock: P. Terentius Afer, *Comoediae*. German (anonymous). Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger 5. III.1499. GW M45583. Worstbrock, *Antikerezeption*, no. 408; Titus Livius, *Ab urbe condita*. German by Bernhard Schöffelin/Ivo Wittich. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger 1507. VD16 L 2103. Worstbrock, *Antikerezeption*, no. 246; C. Iulius Caesar, *Commentarii de bello Gallico. Commentarii de bello civili*. German by Matthias Ringmann Philesius. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger 1507 VD16 C 54. Worstbrock, *Antikerezeption*, no. 43. Further edition: Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger 1508. VD16 C 55. Worstbrock, *Antikerezeption*, no. 44; P. Vergilius Maro, *Bucolica*. German by Johann Adelphus Muling. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger [1508–1509]. VD16 V1529. Worstbrock, *Antikerezeption*, no. 426; P. Vergilius Maro, *Aeneis*. German by Thomas Murner. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger 1515. VD16 V 1426. Worstbrock, *Antikerezeption*, no. 427.

<sup>15</sup> Some of these Latin and German publications are being examined in the Bochum DFG project 'Klassiker im Kontext' (director: Prof. Bernd Bastert, Prof. Manfred Eikelmann). For more on this, see <http://staff.germanistik.rub.de/klassiker-im-kontext/das-team/> [Accessed: 20/10/2018].

<sup>16</sup> For the distribution of elaborate text-image units in the printing of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Joachim Knappe, 'Mnemonik, Bildbuch und Emblematik im Zeitalter Sebastian Brants'. In: *Mnemosyne. Festschrift für Manfred Lurker zum 60. Geburtstag*. Ed. by Werner Bies, Hermann Jung and Manfred Lurker. Baden-Baden 1988 (Bibliographie zur Symbolik, Ikonographie und Mythologie, supplementary vol. 2), p. 133–178. The so-called 'picture books' are included in the research into predecessors of emblem books. See Seraina Plotke, 'Emblematik vor der Emblematik. Der frühe Buchdruck als Experimentierfeld der Text-Bild-Beziehungen'. In: *ZfdPh* 129 (2010), p. 127–142; Karl A. E. Enenkel, 'Illustrations as Commentary and Reader's Guidance. The Transformation of Cicero's *De officiis* into a German Emblem Book by Johann of Schwarzenberg, Heinrich Steiner, and Christian Egenolff (1517–1520; 1530/31; 1550)'. In: *Transformations of the Classics via Early Modern Commentaries*. Ed. by Karl A. E. Enenkel. Leiden, Boston 2014 (Intersections 29), p. 167–259. [For text-image relations, see also the articles by Potysch, p. 273–295 and Schaeps, p. 297–324, in the present volume.]

Grüninger ascribed great importance to providing his books with illustrations. He ran his own workshop for the production of the woodblocks, presumably from c. 1495 to c. 1506, in which famous artists of the time, such as Hans Baldung Grien, Hans Wechtelin, Hans Schäufelein and Urs Graf, worked to a high artistic standard.<sup>17</sup> Those of Grüninger's printed publications that were accompanied by numerous woodcuts included in particular the Latin Classics: the 1496 edition of Terence (GW M45481) contained 159 illustrations,<sup>18</sup> each composed of several partially sawn woodcuts, which were then joined together.<sup>19</sup> With a few expansions, the Terence woodcuts were also used in the German translation of Terence published in 1499 (GW M45583), as well as to illustrate two further Latin editions in 1499 (GW M45485) and 1503 (VD16 T 361). Some of them were combined with newly designed illustrations to adorn the complete edition of the works of Horace, finished on 12 March 1498, under the supervision of Jakob Locher (GW 13468).<sup>20</sup> In the period between 1500 and 1502, Grüninger had many woodcuts made<sup>21</sup> to illustrate three editions overseen by Sebastian Brant,<sup>22</sup> as well as other printed

<sup>17</sup> For more on the artists employed by Grüninger, see Reske (see note 6), p. 871. See also Kristeller (see note 6), p. 18.

<sup>18</sup> For the importance of Grüninger's edition of Terence "nicht nur für die Textkritik und die Geschichte der Buchkunst [...], sondern ebenso für die Theaterwissenschaft und die Kostümgeschichte", see Stephan Füssel, 'Die Bedeutung des Buchdrucks für die Verbreitung der Ideen des Renaissance-Humanismus'. In: *Die Buchdrucker im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*. Ed. by Barbara Thiemann. Hamburg 1999, p. 134.

<sup>19</sup> See Anneliese Schmitt, 'Tradition und Innovation von Literaturgattungen und Buchformen in der Frühdruckzeit'. In: *Die Buchkultur im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*. 2nd half-volume. Ed. by Barbara Thiemann. Hamburg 1999, p. 103. Römer (see note 6), p. 291, refers to the edition of Terence's *Comedies* published by Johann Trechsel in Lyon in 1493 (GW M45397), which he considers to be a model for Grüninger's edition of Terence because of the similarity of the illustrations.

<sup>20</sup> For more information, see Christoph Pieper, 'Horaz als Schulbibel und als elitärer Gründungstext des deutschen Humanismus. Die illustrierte Horazausgabe des Jakob Locher (1498)'. In: *Transformations of the Classics via Early Modern Commentaries*. Ed. by Karl A. E. Enenkel. Leiden 2014, p. 61–90.

<sup>21</sup> Dupeux, Lévy and Wirth list over 600 woodcuts that Grüninger had produced at this time. Cf. Cécile Dupeux, Jacqueline Lévy and Jean Wirth (eds), *La gravure d'illustration en Alsace au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*. 3 vols: 1. *Jean Grüninger: 1501–1506*. 2. *Georg Husner, Johann Prüss, Bartholomäus Kistler, Wilhelm Schaffner, Mathias Hupfuff, Johann Schott, Johann Wähinger, Martin Flach, Johann Knobloch*. 3. *Jean Grüninger: 1507–1512*. Strasbourg 1992–2009, here: vol. 1, p. 16.

<sup>22</sup> The lawyer Sebastian Brant became syndic of the town of Strasbourg in 1501 and Chancellor of the Imperial City in 1503. See Joachim Knappe, 'Brant (Titio), Sebastian'. In: *Deutscher Humanismus 1480–1520. Verfasserlexikon*. Ed. Franz Josef Worstbrock. Vol. 1. Berlin, New York 2008, cols. 247–283; Thomas Wilhelmi (ed.), *Sebastian Brant. Forschungsbeiträge zu seinem Leben, zum 'Narrenschiff' und zum übrigen Werk*. Basel 2002.

publications:<sup>23</sup> in 1501, the edition of *Consolatio Philosophiae* was published with 60 woodcuts (VD16 B 6404)<sup>24</sup>; the edition of *Der Heiligen Leben* (VD16 H 1471), in which the passions of the saints were illustrated through 240 woodcuts, was issued a year later,<sup>25</sup> in 1502; in that same year, the edition of Virgil's works (VD16 V 1332) appeared. Brant's edition of Virgil is considered by scholars to be the undisputed masterpiece of the art of book production in Strasbourg at the time: "chef-d'oeuvre d'illustration strasbourgeoise de l'époque".<sup>26</sup> This first completed cycle of images of Virgil's works includes 214 woodcuts, of which 137 accompany the text of the *Aeneid* and another six illustrate the Supplement, Maffeo Vegio's 13th book.<sup>27</sup> The remaining 71 woodcuts are distributed among Virgil's *Bucolics*, *Georgics* and the *Carmina minora*. With four exceptions,<sup>28</sup> Grüninger had them made specifically for this edition. In the colophon of the publication, he emphasised the huge and financial cost: „Impressum [...] operaque et impensa non mediocri magistri Iohannis Grieninger“ (fol. 34<sup>r</sup> of the Appendix).<sup>29</sup>

Grüninger did not only use the woodcuts to illustrate Johann Adelphus Muling's translation of the *Bucolics*<sup>30</sup> and Thomas Murner's translation of the

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**23** These include the *Legenda sanctae Catharinae* in Latin and German (GW M31820; GW M31822), the *Destillierbuch* (GW 05595) and the *Pestbuch* (GW 05596) by Hieronymus Brunschwig, the chivalric romances *Hug Schapler* (GW 12589) and *Die Königstochter von Frankreich* (GW 06707), as well as a German *Hortus sanitatis* (GW M09739). See Dupeux, Lévy and Wirth (see note 21), vol. 1.

**24** The images are, for the most part, composed of two to three woodblocks of varying artistic quality whose original use is yet to be determined. See Dupeux, Lévy and Wirth (see note 21), vol. 1, p. 19f. and the illustrations on p. 95–118.

**25** Brant's contribution to the edition is admittedly unclear. Cf. Dupeux, Lévy and Wirth (see note 21), vol. 1, p. 20f. and the illustrations on p. 119–196. For more information, see Nikolaus Henkel, 'Das Bild als Wissenssumme. Die Holzschnitte in Sebastian Brants Vergil-Ausgabe, Straßburg 1502'. In: *Schreiben und Lesen in der Stadt. Literaturbetrieb im spätmittelalterlichen Straßburg*. Ed. by Stephen Mossman, Nigel F. Palmer and Felix Heinzer. Berlin 2012 (Kulturtopographie des alemannischen Raums 4), p. 389–419, here p. 392.

**26** Dupeux, Lévy and Wirth (see note 21), vol. 1, p. 16.

**27** They are briefly described in Suerbaum, *Handbuch* (note 5), p. 135–152.

**28** Three woodcuts came from the 1501 print of Boethius's *Consolatio Philosophiae*, one from the Terence edition printed in 1496. See Bernd Schneider, "Virgilius pictus" – Sebastian Brants illustrierte Vergil Ausgabe von 1502 und ihre Nachwirkung. Ein Beitrag zur Vergilrezeption im deutschen Humanismus'. In: *Wolfenbütteler Beiträge* 6 (1983), p. 204, note 9.

**29** The description *magister* probably does not refer to an academic title, but to a 'master craftsman'; indeed, Grüninger wrote to Willibald Pirckheimer on 17/12/1529 that he "nit latin kann". Quoted in Reske (see note 6), p. 871.

**30** P. Vergilius Maro, *Bucolica*. German by Johann Adelphus Muling. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, [1508–1509] (VD16 V1529); Franz Josef Worstbrock, 'Adelphus Mulings

*Aeneid*, but also other translations of the Classics: a woodcut appeared in Ringmann's 1507 printed translation of Caesar (VD16 C 54), although the link between the text and the image is somewhat looser.<sup>31</sup> Around 50 illustrations from the Virgil edition, along with the woodcuts from *Hug Schapler* (GW 12589) and *Die Königstochter von Frankreich* (GW 06707), were also used to illustrate the printed edition of the translation of Livy begun by Bernhard Schöfflerlin and continued from 1507 by Ivo Wittich (VD16 L 2103)<sup>32</sup>; some woodcuts were used several times. For the Livy edition, Grüninger only had 39 of the 254 illustrations newly made.<sup>33</sup>

The woodblocks from the Virgil edition were re-used in a printed publication of Virgil in 1517 in Lyon, where Grüninger had sold them after extensive use.<sup>34</sup> He was presumably connected to this city through his relative Markus Reinhard, who owned the second printing press in Lyon with Nikolaus Philippi in 1477.<sup>35</sup> The woodblocks travelled to Venice later: in 1552, Virgil's *Opera* were published by Tommaso Giunta who appropriated some of Grüninger's original

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Vergilübersetzung'. In: *Zfda* 102 (1973), p. 204–206, proves that the date estimated in VD16 of [ca. 1520] is not tenable due to the form of the name Mülch and the fact that Muling only dealt with the translation of ancient authors around 1510.

31 A woodcut from the beginning of the third book of the *Aeneid*, depicting the preparation of the Trojans to leave Antandrus for the promised land (VD16 V 1332, fol. 183<sup>v</sup>), appears at the beginning of the second book of *Bellum civile* (VD16 C 54) under the caption: *Des andern buochs Figur Wie der Legat C. Trebonius die stat Massiliam im namen des Keisers belegeret Ouch von einem Schiffsstryt* (fol. 88<sup>r</sup>). In the Virgil woodcut, however, the name *rotuli* identify the people as Anchises and Aeneas and the city as Troy. For more on this, cf. Schneider (see note 28), p. 226. Cf. also Dupeux, Lévy and Wirth (see note 21), vol. 3, p. 9 and the illustrations p. 59–72.

32 The translation started by Schöfflerlin may have been conceived in the environment of the Württemberg court for Count Eberhard in Bart, who had named Schöfflerlin a life member of the Council in 1488. Ivo Wittich first published the translation, expanded by a third part (Livy's fourth decade), in 1505 through Johann Schöffler in Mainz (VD16 L 2105) and dedicated it to Maximilian I. See Franz Josef Worstbrock, 'Wittich, Ivo'. In: *<sup>2</sup>VL* 10 (1999), cols. 1290–1292. For more on Schöfflerlin and his translation, see Carla Winter, *Humanistische Historiographie in der Volkssprache. Bernhard Schöfflerlins 'Römische Historie'*. Stuttgart, Bad Cannstatt 1999 (Arbeiten und Editionen zur mittleren deutschen Literatur. N. F. 6); Walter Röhl, 'Schöfflerlin, Bernhard'. In: *<sup>2</sup>VL* 8 (1992), cols. 810–814.

33 See Dupeux, Lévy and Wirth (see note 21), vol. 3, p. 10 and the illustrations on p. 73–96.

34 P. Vergilius Maro: *Opera*. Lyon: Jacobus Saccon, 1517. For more on this edition, see Suerbaum, *Handbuch* (note 5), p. 182f.

35 Römer (see note 6), p. 280, speaks of a close kinship. The exact nature of the kinship has, however, not yet been confirmed (p. 282f.). Markus Reinhard returned to Strasbourg in 1482, presumably at first to join Grüninger's printing business. Contact between Grüninger and Lyon might have been established from this time.

illustrations for his work.<sup>36</sup> They were also often re-cut – not only for editions of Virgil<sup>37</sup> – and their motifs can be found in most illustrated editions of Virgil until partway through the seventeenth century.<sup>38</sup> The remarkable impact of Grüninger's edition of Virgil reveals the importance of his workshop in the realm of book production in the Upper Rhine around the year 1500. According to François Ritter, his illustrations were the highpoint of the art of bookmaking in Strasbourg: "Il n'en demeure pas moins qu'il est l'un des plus importants parmi les imprimeurs strasbourgeois."<sup>39</sup>

## 2 The Woodcuts from Brant's Edition of Virgil (Strasbourg 1502)

The model for the complete edition of the works of Virgil supervised by Brant was the Virgil edition published in Venice in 1491 by Philippus Pincius and edited by the Italian Humanist Antonio Mancinelli (GW M49944). In addition to Virgil's three principal works (*Bucolics*, *Georgics*, *Aeneid*), it included the so-called *Appendix Vergiliana*, a series of short poems that had become attached to Virgil's work over the course of its transmission.<sup>40</sup> Mancinelli's edition appended five commentaries to Virgil's works for the first time in printing history<sup>41</sup>: commentaries by the late classical grammarians Servius and Tiberius

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**36** See Schneider (see note 28), p. 231. For Giunta's edition of 1552, see Suerbaum, *Handbuch* (note 5), p. 248–250.

**37** Thus, a mirror image recut of Fama from Brant's edition of Virgil (fol. 215<sup>v</sup>) is displayed as the title woodcut of the printed edition of a text by the same name (*Fama*), published by Hieronymus Rodler in Simmern in 1534 (VD16 F 592). Cf. Jacob Klingner, *Minnereden im Druck. Studien zur Gattungsgeschichte im Zeitalter des Medienwechsels*. Berlin 2010 (Philologische Studien und Quellen 226), p. 210, note. 44.

**38** For more on the 'afterlife' of Grüninger's Virgil woodcuts, see Suerbaum, *Handbuch* (note 5), p. 54.

**39** Ritter (see note 6), p. 109. [For Strasbourg, see also the article by Bertelsmeier-Kierst in the present volume, p. 37–40.]

**40** Cf. Leighton D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics*. Oxford 1983, p. 433–440. See also Henkel, 'Das Bild' (note 25), p. 382. For the individual poems, see the anthology *Die Appendix Vergiliana. Pseudepigraphen im literarischen Kontext*. Ed. by Niklas Holzberg. Tübingen 2005 (Classica Monacensia 30).

**41** Cf. Martin Davies and John Goldfinch (eds), *Vergil. A Census of Printed Editions 1469–1500*. London 1992, p. 68.



Claudius Donatus, as well as by the Humanists Antonio Mancinelli, Domizio Calderini and Cristoforo Landino. They are printed in separate blocks marked with the names of the commentator.

Brant's edition of Virgil is introduced by a propempticon written by the editor (fol. Ai<sup>v</sup>–Aii<sup>r</sup>/KT 397) and is followed by Cristoforo Landino's proem to Virgil's works (fol. Aii<sup>v</sup>–Aiiii<sup>r</sup>) and Aelius Donatus's Life of Virgil (Aiii<sup>r</sup>–Av<sup>v</sup>).<sup>42</sup> A separate foliate Appendix is appended to Virgil's main work that contains both Maffeo Vegio's 13th book and the *Carmina minora*. Brant uses the five commentaries from Mancinelli's edition as closing paratexts, although he changes their presentation. He brings together the different details that relate to the same location or lemma: lower-case letters above relevant words in the main text refer to the commentaries appended to Virgil's text, which thus appear "nicht mehr wie in den Vorgängerausgaben als eigene kohärente Texte [...], sondern je 'parzelliert'".<sup>43</sup>

The woodcuts demonstrate this rich interpretation not only of the Virgilian text, but also of the commentaries added to it and reveal the expertise of an evident connoisseur of ancient literature and mythology. Research has demonstrated that Brant was closely involved in the production of the woodcuts as a 'concepteur'<sup>44</sup>: the craftsmen employed in Grüninger's woodcarving workshop worked on the basis of Brant's presumably sketchy preliminary drawings, labelled with details about each individual illustration, which assumes a lively exchange between the editor and the artists realising the work.<sup>45</sup> The narratorial sequence of images, the "Bild-'Erzählung'",<sup>46</sup> in addition to the textual understanding supplied by the Latin writing, creates an engrossing display through the visual medium.

<sup>42</sup> For KT, see note 48.

<sup>43</sup> Henkel, 'Das Bild' (note 25), p. 394.

<sup>44</sup> Henkel, 'Das Bild' (note 25), p. 394. Brant supervised the printing of the edition of Virgil and was apparently able to prevent the *Carmina Priapea*, which he believed to be offensive, from being printed in the Appendix of the edition. Cf. Nikolaus Henkel, 'Die *Carmina Priapea* in Sebastian Brants Vergil-Ausgabe (1502). Strategien einer angeleiteten Kommunikation. Mit einem Anhang: Die Sammlung der Vergil-Epitaphien der Straßburger Ausgabe'. In: *Sebastian Brant und die Kommunikationskultur um 1500*. Ed. by Klaus Bergdolt. Wiesbaden 2010 (Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung 26), p. 379–410.

<sup>45</sup> The fact that the printmakers and cutters presumably had no knowledge of Virgil's text or of Latin can be seen, for instance, in the erroneous name inscriptions on the woodcuts. Cf. Henkel, 'Das Bild' (note 25), p. 391, note 46.

<sup>46</sup> Henkel, 'Das Bild' (note 25), p. 389.

In the introductory and closing poems of the edition, Brant explains the intended purpose of the *pictae tabellae* (KT 397, v. 1), as he called the woodcuts, of his Virgil<sup>47</sup>: they are intended for the unschooled (*indocti*, KT 397, vv. 9f.) and the simple folk (*rusticoli viri*, KT 389, v. 4), for whom the images would open a door to participation in the ancient cultural heritage.<sup>48</sup> As an example of this mode of reading, Brant points to a passage from the first Book of the *Aeneid* in which Aeneas and his companion Achates examine the reliefs in Juno's temple in Carthage, which shows scenes from the Trojan War (*Aen.* 1.441–493): “Dardanium Aenan doctum non legimus usquam: / picturam potuit perlegere ille tamen” (KT 397, vv. 11f.).<sup>49</sup> The possibility, thanks to the first complete image cycle of the works of Virgil, of making the ancient body of knowledge accessible to those who, due to a lack of Latin education, are reliant upon the visual display, refers back to the topos of the *pictura* as *litteratura laicorum*.<sup>50</sup> It has long been a consensus among researchers that Brant's statement is not to be taken literally,<sup>51</sup> yet the woodcuts demonstrate an exceptionally high density of scholarly knowledge that stems not only from the primary texts of the classical poet, but is also taken from the Late Antiquity and Humanist commentaries added to them. A thorough knowledge of them is necessary to truly ‘read’ the images and

<sup>47</sup> For more on the impact of Brant's edition of Virgil, see Schneider (see note 28), p. 202–262.

<sup>48</sup> The poems are printed in: Sebastian Brant, *Kleine Texte*. Ed. by Thomas Wilhelmi. 3 vols. Stuttgart, Bad Cannstatt 1998 (Arbeiten und Editionen zur mittleren deutschen Literatur N. F. 3): “Hic legere historias commentaque plurima doctus | nec minus indoctus perlegere illa potest” (KT 397, vv. 9f.). “The scholar can here read stories and numerous commentaries, yet the unlearned is no less able to read them [by observing].” The closing poem expresses it thus: “Virgilium exponant alii sermone disertio. | Et calamo pueris: tradere et ore iuuat. | Pictura agresti voluit Brant atque tabellis: | Edere eum indoctis: rusticolisque viris” (KT 389, vv. 1–4). “Others seek to explain Virgil with scholarly discourse and teach the boys through favourable speech and written word (with a stylus); Brant wanted to issue him with simple pictures and tables for unlearned and simple people.”

<sup>49</sup> “We do not read anywhere that the Trojan Aeneas was educated but he was able to read the picture.”

<sup>50</sup> For more on this argument, see Michael Curschmann, ‘*Pictura laicorum litteratura?* Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Bild und volkssprachlicher Schriftlichkeit im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter bis zum Codex Manesse’. In: *Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit im Mittelalter. Erscheinungsformen und Entwicklungsstufen*. Ed. by Hagen Keller, Klaus Grubmüller and Nikolaus Staubach. München 1992 (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 65), p. 211–229.

<sup>51</sup> In contrast, see Craig Kallendorf, *Virgil and the Myth of Venice. Books and Readers in the Italian Renaissance*. Oxford 1999, p. 162, who considers the recipients of the edition of Virgil to be “poorly educated, humble folk”.

to understand the relationship between the elements they represent. These are mostly an illustration of a combination of scenes that summarise several plot sequences,<sup>52</sup> some of which refer to textual passages of over hundred lines.

As Brant states in a poem in the Appendix of the Virgil edition, the woodcuts have, on the one hand, a memorative function as a mental visualisation of what is read: “The image keeps the book in memory” (“memori seruat mente figura librum”, fol. 35<sup>v</sup>).<sup>53</sup> On the other hand, the richness of detail and the great complexity of some of the illustrations offer literati the possibility of a scholar’s game based on the recognition of the particular literary work depicted in the image; and, finally, the woodcuts also hold a learning process for the scholars: “jeder, auch der beste Kenner, ist nicht so weit fortgeschritten, dass er nicht noch mehr lernen könnte und sollte.”<sup>54</sup> This learning process for the *litterati* takes place though the living and vivid transfer of the textual content into a visual medium, which guarantees a maximum presence for that which is represented.

The illustrated narrative of the woodcuts accompanying the Latin text in the Strasbourg 1502 Virgil edition offers a “Höchstmaß an minutiöser sinnstiftender Differenzierung”<sup>55</sup> and, as such, is comparable to the process of translation: both illustration and translation aim to communicate to the recipient a coherent image of the text that corresponds to contemporary vision and understanding.<sup>56</sup> Thus, the woodcuts transpose the ancient material to the era of c. 1500 north of the Alps<sup>57</sup>: half-timbered houses, bay

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Suerbaum, *Handbuch* (note 5), p. 53.

<sup>53</sup> For more on the combination of text and image in Brant’s edition of Virgil, see Joachim Hamm, ‘Zu Paratextualität und Intermedialität in Sebastian Brants *Vergilius pictus* (Straßburg 1502)’. In: *Intermedialität in der Frühen Neuzeit. Formen, Funktionen, Konzepte*. Ed. by Jörg Robert. Berlin, Boston 2017 (Frühe Neuzeit 209), p. 236–259.

<sup>54</sup> Henkel, ‘Das Bild’ (note 25), p. 410.

<sup>55</sup> Henkel, ‘Das Bild’ (note 25), p. 409f.

<sup>56</sup> Eleanor W. Leach, ‘Illustration as Interpretation in Brant’s and Dryden’s Editions of Virgil’. In: *The Early Illustrated Book. Essays in Honor of Lessing J. Rosenwald*. Ed. by Sandra Hindman. Washington 1982, p. 175–210, discusses the type of interpretative illustration of Virgil’s *Bucolics* and *Aeneid* in Brant’s and Dryden’s editions of Virgil. She sees illustration and translation as two parallel paths “to convey the reader a coherent image couched within the understandable contemporary idiom” (p. 175).

<sup>57</sup> A knowledgeable commentary of selected woodcuts is provided by Vergil, *Aeneis*. Ed. by Manfred Lemmer. Translated by Johannes Götte. Leipzig 1979, p. 365f.; Schneider (see note 28), p. 202–262, examines the Virgil edition with an analysis of individual woodcuts, taking into account their historical reception.

windows and battlements, even church towers with bells and crosses reflect the typical building designs of German towns in the late Middle Ages (Strasbourg 1502, fol. 121<sup>r</sup>, 159<sup>r</sup>, [222<sup>r</sup>]); the clothes, the hair and beard styles belong to the period 1500 (fol. 145<sup>v</sup>, 151<sup>r</sup>); the heroes fight in the manner of knights (fol. 171<sup>v</sup>, 406<sup>v</sup>, 408<sup>v</sup>); Turnus's infantry even displays the 'Bundschuh' on its banner (fol. 319<sup>v</sup>).<sup>58</sup> Christian elements are encountered in the depiction of the jaws of hell (fol. 265<sup>v</sup>, 268<sup>v</sup>) and the death of Aeneas, whose soul escapes from his mouth in the shape of a small figure (fol. 5<sup>v</sup> of the Appendix) – a common depiction in images of the death of Mary, for example.<sup>59</sup> Conversely, the pagan world of the gods is represented in "barbarischer Nacktheit",<sup>60</sup> to quote Lemmer, as not belonging to the Christian sphere (fol. 133<sup>r</sup>, 212<sup>v</sup>). The visual transfer of the textual content to the contemporary conceptual world and the translational practice in Murner's German version of the *Aeneid*, which aims to provide a cultural transposition of the ancient text,<sup>61</sup> demonstrate the appropriation of the ancient Classics in accordance with the respective contemporary local conditions.<sup>62</sup>

**58** For more on the uprisings of peasants in the Upper Rhine in the period from 1493 to 1517, see Georges Bischoff, *La guerre des Paysans. L'Alsace et la révolution du Bundschuh, 1493–1525*. Strasbourg 2010.

**59** See Josef Myslivec, 'Tod Mariens'. In: *LCI* 4 (1994), cols. 334–338.

**60** Vergil, *Aeneis* (note 57), p. 365.

**61** For more on Murner's translational practice, see Julia Frick, 'Renaissance eines antiken Klassikers. Thomas Murners Übersetzung von Vergils *Aeneis* (1515)'. In: *Zfda* 146 (2017), p. 351–368 and the examination of Murner's translation currently in preparation (see note 1).

**62** For more on this method in Brant's edition of Virgil, see also Werner Suerbaum, 'Titelbilder zu den Aeneis-Büchern vom Humanismus bis zum Neoklassizismus. Geschichte, Typen und Tendenzen der Aeneis-Illustration in gedruckten Vergil-Ausgaben und -Übersetzungen von 1502–1840'. In: *Philologia antiqua* 1 (2008), p. 103. Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich shows that the assimilation of ancient materials into the contemporary era was the common reception form in the sixteenth century, using the example of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in her article 'Ovids Göttersagen in illustrierten Ausgaben des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts'. In: *Wechselseitige Wahrnehmung der Religionen im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit. II. Kulturelle Konkretionen (Literatur, Mythographie, Wissenschaft und Kunst)*. Ed. by Ludger Grenzmann, Thomas Haye and Nikolaus Henkel et al. Berlin, Boston 2012 (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen N.F., 4), p. 185–207. A "historisierende, das meint: antike Formen aufnehmende Darstellungsweise" would, according to Henkel, 'Das Bild' (note 25), p. 389, note 44, hardly be possible north of the Alps at this time.

### 3 The Influence of the Virgil Woodcuts on Thomas Murner's Translation of the *Aeneid* (1515)

A collation of eleven contemporary editions of the *Aeneid* using indexed samples led to the identification of the 1509 Strasbourg edition published by Johannes Schott (VD16 V 1409) as being the likely model for Murner<sup>63</sup>; it has been shown that the commentary to the Latin edition, which is restricted to basic knowledge, found its way into Murner's German verse.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, the use of the 1502 Strasbourg Virgil edited by Sebastian Brant (VD16 V 1332) is noticeable: the edition of Murner's translation opted to recycle the former's arguments and especially its woodcuts. It has been proven that Murner knew Brant's edition. In his work *Honestorum poematum condigna laudatio* (1503), he explicitly highlights the benefit of the Virgil woodcuts in offering a visualisation of great impact:

Uidistin Uirgilium in hac nostra imperiali vrbe Argentina formis diuersis impressum et imaginibus decorum vt fere vitali precepto Eolus ipse tempestates videatur sonoras excitare, Ilium destrui bello, vrbisque Rhome menia noua visionis iucunditate exurgere et cetera id generis.<sup>65</sup>

Murner is referring here to the extremely detailed interpretation of Virgil's text and the commentary through the visual medium of images that present the events with vivid detail to the eye of the beholder. His statement can be read as a contemporary judgement on the high quality and far-reaching effect of the Virgil woodcuts,<sup>66</sup> seeing the close correspondence of the reality created by

<sup>63</sup> The following editions were collated: Strasbourg 1470 (GW M49727); Venice 1471 (GW M49738); Nuremberg 1492 (GW M49940); Venice 1492 (GW M49944); Venice 1494 (GW M49953); Paris 1500–1501 (GW M49979); Venice 1500 (GW M49969); Cologne 1501 (VD 16 ZV 19185); Strasbourg 1502 (VD 16 V 1332); Strasbourg 1505 (VD 16 ZV 15224); Strasbourg 1509 (VD 16 V 1409).

<sup>64</sup> For more on Murner's model, see Frick, 'Renaissance' (note 61), p. 356–362.

<sup>65</sup> Thomas Murner, *Honestorum poematum condigna* [read: *condigna*] *laudatio* [read: *laudatio*]. Strasbourg 1503. VD16 M 7038, fol. b i<sup>r</sup>. "Have you seen the Virgil printed in our Imperial town of Strasbourg with different typefaces and decorated with images which makes it seem as if Aeolus himself is stirring thunderous storms with an almost living command, that Troy is being destroyed in a war, that the walls of the new Rome are being vividly and pleasantly raised and more of the like." Murner refers here to the following woodcuts from Brant's complete edition of Virgil's works (VD16 V 1332): Aeolus (fol. 124<sup>v</sup>); the destruction of Troy (fol. 172<sup>r</sup>; also fol. 166<sup>v</sup> or 168<sup>v</sup>); the 'new' Rome (Appendix fol. 3<sup>r</sup> and 3<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>66</sup> According to Suerbaum, *Handbuch* (note 5), p. 54, the Virgil woodcuts dominated Virgil illustrations in "leichten Abwandlungen und Nachschnitten vor allem in Venedig sowie in Lyon und Paris" until the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

literature with everyday life as the measure of the value of visual art.<sup>67</sup> As Joachim Hamm correctly supposes,<sup>68</sup> this appreciation of Brant's edition may have prompted Murner to give his translation of the *Aeneid* to Grüninger in order to be printed, whereas the majority of his vernacular works written around the time of the composition of the German *Aeneid* were published in Strasbourg by Matthias Hupfuff.<sup>69</sup> The translation fitted Grüninger's publishing programme perfectly, since it assigned an important place to the ancient Classics. Murner himself, like Brant, ascribed great value not only to the illustrative and memorative function of woodcuts, but also to the close relationship between the text and the image<sup>70</sup>; he always ensured that his books were decorated with visual elements.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Similarly presented is the praise with which Jakob Locher considers the woodcuts in the Preface to Grüninger's second Latin edition of Terence (GW M45485): *Viva omnia sunt* (fol. 1<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Hamm (see note 53), p. 256.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Worstbrock, 'Murner, Thomas' (note 1), cols. 333–339. For more on Hupfuff and his printing business in Strasbourg, see Oliver Duntze, *Ein Verleger sucht sein Publikum. Die Straßburger Offizin des Matthias Hupfuff (1497/98–1520)*. München 2007 (Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens 4).

<sup>70</sup> He emphasises this in his teaching materials for the study of law, such as the *Chartiludium Institute* (VD16 M 7028), in which he ascribes to pictures the function of an important memory aid: "Accipite igitur ex nobis [...] totius institute cognitionem apud alios multis verbis inculcatam. hic autem figuris et typis sic ordinatam vt illis breui valeatis et textus intelligentiam atque perfectam et exactissimam memoriam ac quasi specularem tueri." (fol. a ii<sup>v</sup>). "Receive therefore from me [...] the knowledge of the whole *Institutiones*, which is inculcated by others with many words, but is here arranged with images and styles which will help you to understand the text within a short period of time and to be able to keep it fully and with great accuracy – visually as it were – in memory." The illustrations of Murner's works are documented by Moritz Sondheim, 'Die Illustrationen zu Thomas Murners Werken'. In: *Elsaß-Lothringisches Jahrbuch* 12 (1933), p. 5–82. For more on the relationship between text and image in Murner's writings, see Maria Wolters, *Beziehungen zwischen Holzschnitt und Text bei Sebastian Brant und Thomas Murner. Mit einem Exkurs über die Illustrationen des Wälschen Gastes*. Strasbourg 1917, p. 28–44.

<sup>71</sup> He also repeatedly devoted himself to drawing: he is believed to have drawn most of the templates for the 36 illustrations for his *Badenfahrt* (VD16 M 7022) himself, a spiritual and allegorical interpretation of bathing as a cleansing of the sinner by Christ, the 'bath attendant'. Cf. Dupeux, Lévy and Wirth (see note 21), vol. 2, p. 19 and the illustrations on p. 223–231. For more on the illustrations of *Badenfahrt*, see also Birgit U. Münch, 'Periculosus catus. Subversive Kritik in Bildern und Texten Thomas Murners'. In: *Von der Freiheit der Bilder. Spott, Kritik und Subversion in der Kunst der Dürerzeit*. Ed. by Thomas Schauerte, Jürgen Müller and Bertram Kaschek. Petersberg 2013, p. 196–217. The illustrations in Murner's translation of Sabellicus's universal history are also believed to be Murner's own work. See Tilman Falk, 'Die Illustrationen zu Murners Sabellicus-Übersetzung'. In: *Thomas Murner. Elsässischer Theologe und Humanist, 1475–1537. Eine Ausstellung der Badischen Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe und der Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg*. Karlsruhe 1987, p. 112–130, p. 114.

**Table 1:** Related Virgil Editions

Dependent relationships of the Virgil editions

Venice: Adam von Ambergau 1471

(editio princeps of Maffeo Vegio's Supplement)

Venice: Philippus Pincius,  
ed. by Antonio Mancinelli 1492Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger,  
ed. by Sebastian Brant 1502Strasbourg: Johann Knobloch,  
ed. by Johann Schott 1509Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger 1515  
transl. by Thomas Murner

Brant's carefully calculated intermedial arrangement of the *Vergilius pictus*, which correlated and enabled the interaction of the woodcuts, the Virgilian text and the commentary,<sup>72</sup> loses its functionality in the *editio princeps* of Murner's translation: the extra information provided by the woodcuts points nowhere due to the absence of the commentaries. Yet, the influence of the illustrations on the understanding of the Latin text can be shown in some places of Murner's translation of the *Aeneid*, where details of the images that are not clearly based on the Latin text and its commentaries, nevertheless find their way into Murner's German verse.<sup>73</sup>

Book 1 (Fig. 1, fol. 12<sup>v</sup>-13<sup>r</sup>): ENEAS and ACHATES (both far right) examine the images of Juno's temple in Carthage that depict scenes from the Trojan War (*Aen.* 1.455f./M 1.897–899): a fighting HECTOR in the top left box, middle, ANTOMEDON (read: Automedon), VLISSES and DOLON, DIOMEDES thrusting a sword into the side of RHESVS (*Aen.* 1.471/M 1.925); right, ACHILLES killing TROILVS (*Aen.* 1.475f./M 1.932–934) from his chariot. In the bottom left box, Trojan women pray before the statue of PALLAS (*Aen.* 1.479f./M 1.943–946); middle, ACHILLES and PRIAMVS (*Aen.* 1.487/M 1.959f.) with MENNON laid out (*Aen.* 1.489/M 1.963); right, PATESILEA (read: Penthesilea) in battle (*Aen.* 1.491/M 1.965).

A Trojan woman wearing a veil and a long cloak is kneeling with folded hands before the statue of Pallas Athena; the two women behind her have raised their arms in a gesture of lament. The Latin text states that the Trojan women approached the goddess “suppliciter, tristes et tunsae pectora palmis”

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Hamm (see note 53), p. 257.

<sup>73</sup> The description of the woodcuts follows the entries in the edition. See Frick (see note 1), vol. 2. The line references are to the Latin text of the *Aeneid* as found in *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*. Ed. by R.A.B. Mynors. Oxford 1969 and Murner's German text in the above-mentioned edition respectively.

(*Aen.* 1.481). The kneeling posture with folded hands in the picture so vividly illustrates a gesture of supplication (*suppliciter*) that Murner picks up on it in his translation and applies it to all the Trojan women:

Darnach sach er ein gantze schar  
 Troyanscher frauen kummen dar,  
 Mit zersteuwtem har vnd weinen,  
 rungent ir hend / die zart vnd reinen;  
 Für die göttin knüwten all  
 vnd clagten des kriegs vngefall.  
 Die göttin wolt ir hören nit,  
 wendt ir augen / veracht ir bit. (M 1.943–950)<sup>74</sup>

The fourth book offers a particularly marked example of the phenomenon of transposing details of the images to the German text. It can be traced to two woodcuts:

(Fig. 2, fol. 57<sup>v</sup>): DIDO and ANNA stand in the foreground next to the funeral pyre that has been erected and decorated with garlands (*Aen.* 4. 504–507/M 4.1070–1074), to their left, the priestess is standing at the altar with a sickle (*Aen.* 4.483/M 4.1022f.). In the background, to the left, a room can be seen with a bed with a cover adorned with a portrait of ENEAS (*Aen.* 4.508/M 4.1077–1079). He himself is sitting in a ship back right, admonished by Mercury to leave (*Aen.* 4.554–558/M 4.1188–1193).

(Fig. 3, fol. 60<sup>r</sup>): In the middle image, DIDO is standing on the uppermost step of a stairway leading to the burning pyre on which the bed with Aeneas's portrait has been placed. She pierces her breast with the sword (*Aen.* 4.663f./M 4.1422), whilst IRIS flies in from the right to cut a lock from DIDO's hair (*Aen.* 704/M 1504). With loose hair and raised arms, a wailing ANNA (*Aen.* 4.667–674/M 4.1438–1444) and other followers approach from the left.

In the Latin text, there is a bed on the pyre, which is used as a repository for clothes, a sword and an *effigies* (*Aen.* 4.506f.). Although the commentary on this passage of the text does indeed clarify that this effigy is an image of

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<sup>74</sup> “Then he saw a large company of Trojan women coming with dishevelled hair and crying, wringing their pure and delicate hands; they all knelt before the goddess and lamented the horrors of the war. The goddess would not listen to them, turned her eyes away and left their plea unheeded.”





Fig. 1: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Res/2 A.lat.a. 349, fol. 12<sup>v</sup>-13<sup>r</sup>.



Fig. 1: (continued)





Fig. 2: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Res/2 A.lat.a. 349, fol. 57<sup>v</sup>.

## Das. III. Buch

LX

zu welschem land in lenden an  
 Eneam den vntwun man  
 Ists vo i gótern also gschessen  
 so b. r. ich doch das er müß sehen  
 Hestrig mit krieg vmb triden werden  
 vertriben von des landes erden

Von seinem sun Iulo kam  
 vnd hilff müß betlen vmbdum  
 Die seinen seßen sol erschlagen  
 vnd keinen seiden mög eriagen  
 So. h. wart freid geben im da mit  
 Das er das reich erhole nit

Lucill /  
 imploret

Wie si h. v. liebe Dido selbs ertödet.



Fig. 3: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Res/2 A.lat.a. 349, fol. 60<sup>r</sup>.

Aeneas (*imago*), it does not specify its exact nature.<sup>75</sup> Murner's translation, by contrast, offers a very precise description of the *effigy*:

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[. . .] super	[Dido] hat / auch dar gebracht
exuuias	Eneas cleidung vnd sein schwert,
ensemque	ein bildung, die sie mit gferdt
relictum	Hat wircken lassen vff das bett
Effigiemque toro	von Enea conterphet (M 4.1075–1079) <sup>76</sup>
locat haud ignara	
futuri.	
(Aen. 4.506f.)	

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The translation adopts the knowledge presented in the woodcuts: two depictions show a bed adorned with a coverlet with a portrait of Aeneas. It is only some 150 lines later that the reader of the Latin edition learns the origin of Brant's idea of the *effigies Aeneae*: with regard to *Dardanij rogam capitis* (Aen. 4.640), Servius states: *in quo [rogo] eius* [i.e. *Aeneae*] *imago fuerat* (fol. 228<sup>v</sup>). In this, Murner's translation is based on the first mention of the funeral pyre, thus suggesting that he may have taken his cue from the visual medium.

Furthermore, the woodcut on fol. 57<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 2) shows Dido with loose hair, whereas, in the Latin text, this is the attribute of the priestess: “crines effusa sacerdos” (Aen. 4.508). In Murner's translation, it is Dido whose hair flows loose: “Jr [i.e. Dido's] gelbes har ab lassen hangen” (M 4.1082).

Book 5 (Fig. 4, fol. 67<sup>v</sup>): Duel between ENTELLVS and DARES. The two opponents are standing opposite each other on an enclosed battlefield, armed with *caestus* (blunt instruments resembling pipes) (Aen. 5.426f./M 5.854f.). Two crossed swords lie before them. To the left behind ENTELLVS stands ACESTES with his followers, to the right behind DARES are ENEAS, ASTANIVS (read: Ascanius) and ACHATES.

The practice of the ancient boxing matches, in which opponents would wind leather strips sometimes filled with iron or lead (*caestus*) around their hands, no longer existed by 1500. Rather, in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period, the *caestus* was understood to be a kind of blunt instrument – a type of club that could be studded or filled with lead. This idea is documented

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<sup>75</sup> Servius refers only to Dido's wish to be united, even in death, with a visual presence of her beloved: “exprimat affectum amantis: quo etiam in morte amici imagini vult coniungi” (Strasbourg 1502, fol. 225<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>76</sup> “Dido had also brought Aeneas's clothes and his sword there, as well as an effigy of Aeneas that she had had embroidered on the bed, at her own request.”





Fig. 4: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Res/2 A.lat.a. 349, fol. 67<sup>v</sup>.

by the relevant dictionaries, although with reference to the earlier gloss: for the lemma *plicholp*, the Old High German dictionary describes a “mit Blei (Bleiknöpfen) besetzter kurzer dicker Stock”,<sup>77</sup> the Middle High German dictionary also contains relevant entries (*blīkiule/blīkolbe*) with a reference to the Viennese Codex of the thirteenth century (Cod. Vindob. 901), which, in addition to Latin keywords, also offers a Latin-German lexicon with the lemma *blicolbe* for *cestus*.<sup>78</sup> In the Old High German and Old Saxon vocabulary glosses, the entry *plīkolbin* is given the meaning “lead-studded club”<sup>79</sup>; Lorenz Diefenbach, analysing the glossaries of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period, lists the German interpretaments *blieculle*, *stritkolb*, *eysener kolb* and *kempfkolben* for *cestus*.<sup>80</sup> In accordance with this contemporary idea, the *caestus* from the Latin text (*Aen.* 5.379 *et passim*) are represented in the image as pipe-like blunt instruments. Murner also renders them as *kolben* (*M* 5.763 *et passim*) in his translation.

Book 6 (Fig. 5, fol. 82<sup>v</sup>): CHARON hurries after having seen the golden bough in ENEAS’ hand (*Aen.* 6.406/*M* 6.863f.) so that the latter and SYBILLA can cross the river in his boat (*Aen.* 408–10/*M* 869–871), passing by the three-headed Cerberus (*Aen.* 6.417/*M* 6.884f.) and a Hell mouth with flickering flames on the left side with its negative heraldic connotations. Wailing shapes sit on the bank in the foreground, waiting to cross.

In Virgil’s *Aeneid*, it is Sibylla who shows ferryman Charon the golden bough that entitles them to descend into the Underworld; this action is poetically integrated into her speech: “[...] At ramum hunc” (aperit [i.e. Sibylla] ramum qui veste latebat) | “Agnoscas.” (*Aen.* 6.405f). On the woodcut, however, Aeneas is the one represented with the golden bough in his hand, which he also produces from under his garment in Murner’s text: “Den [i.e. guldnen zweig] er mit kleid verborgen hat, | Eneas bald herfürher that” (*M* 6.863f.).<sup>81</sup>

Book 10 (Fig. 6, fol. 140<sup>v</sup>): In the foreground, two pairs of knights are fighting each other with raised lances; in the middle, between them, a human body with a severed head is lying on the ground. The middle-ground shows a duel between PALLAS and LAVSVS (*Aen.* 10.433f./*M* 10.921f.): The latter strikes out

<sup>77</sup> Cf. *Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch*. Vol. 1. Ed. by Elisabeth Karg-Gasterstädt and Theodor Frings. Berlin 1968, col. 1212.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*. Vol. 1. Ed. by Kurt Gärtner, Klaus Grubmüller and Karl Stackmann. Stuttgart 2013, col. 4878.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Rudolf Schützeichel, *Althochdeutscher und Altsächsischer Glossenwortschatz*. Vol. 1. Tübingen 2004, p. 430.

<sup>80</sup> Lorenz Diefenbach, *Glossarium Latino-Germanicum mediae et infimae aetatis*. Unmodified reprint of the Frankfurt am Main 1857 edition. Darmstadt 1968 (Supplementum Lexici Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis), p. 116.

<sup>81</sup> “Aeneas soon produced [the golden bough] that he had hidden under his robe.”

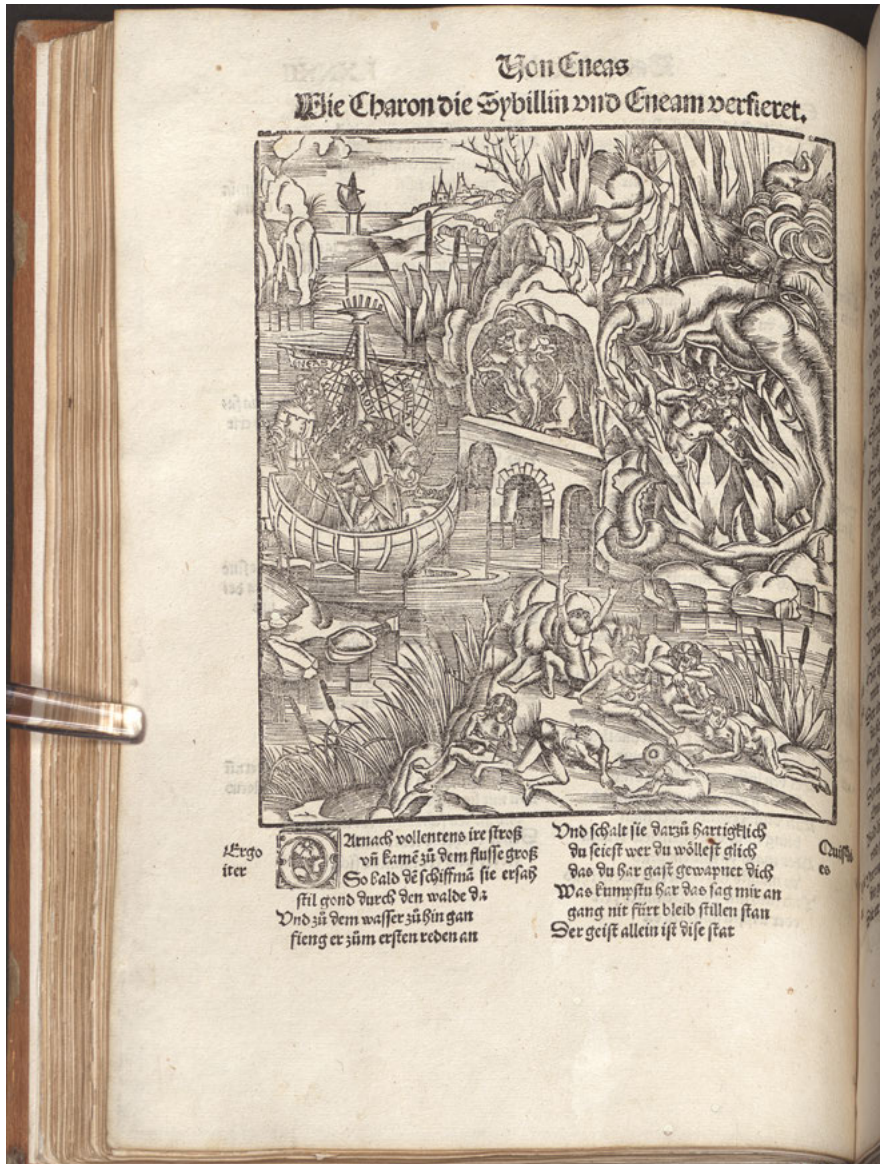


Fig. 5: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Res/2 A.lat.a. 349, fol. 82<sup>v</sup>.



Von Eneas  
Wie Turnus Pallaffen anrante vnd erschach.



inter  
foco  
Das sie da beid nit zamen kernen  
sunder ein andern tod in nemen  
Von ein stercken grössern seind  
von dem sie beid erschlagen seind  
Da zwischten Turnus Turnum makt  
Das er Lausf erer ein beistande

Er kam geloffen stiegent har  
mit tel durch die ganze schar  
So bald er seine gellen sahe  
stond ab dem krieg er zu in lasse  
Ich wil Pallanta greiffen an  
selber ist mir ein eben man

Solus  
ego

Fig. 6: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Res/2 A.lat.a. 349, fol. 140<sup>v</sup>.

with his sword whilst PALLAS thrusts his lance against LAVSVS's shield. TVRNVS is standing behind: he is following the admonition of his sister Juturna, who is floating in a cloud to his left, and hurrying to the aid of LAVSVS (*Aen.* 10.439/M 10.933f.); after having jumped from the chariot (right) (*Aen.* 10.453/M 10.954), he pierces PALLAS with a lance (*Aen.* 10.482–485/M 10.1019–1026).

Whereas, in the Latin text, Turnus comes running in his chariot to take up the fight against Pallas (“qui [i.e. Turnus] volucris curru medium | secatur agmen”, *Aen.* 10.440), for Murner, he is coming on foot, as in the illustration: “Er kam geloffen fliegend har | mittel durch die gantze schar” (10.935).<sup>82</sup> In addition to the visual representation, Murner's translation may be traced back to the reading “volucris cursu” (at a flying run) for “volucris curru” (in a flying, quick chariot). However, the variant *cursu* for *curru* has not been attested in any of the contemporary editions of Virgil examined.

The ‘translation’ of the textual wording and of knowledge derived from the text in its pictorial form allowed the *litterati* to play a scholarly game, testing their own specialist knowledge using the images and thereby provides a learning process that occurs through the living and vivid transposition of the textual content into a visual medium. Murner, as a *doctus*, participated in this learning process: pictorial elements<sup>83</sup> that have no clear source in Virgil's Latin text or the commentaries added to it have found their way into Murner's German text. The repeated integration of pictorial details into the translation demonstrates the memorative effect of the *pictae tabellae* (KT 397, v. 1) that place the textual content before the reader's eyes in a living visualisation, thus allowing a deepened understanding of the Virgilian text. The woodcuts permitted a tangible process of dual translation: the transposition of the Latin text into a pictorial formula, which was then back-translated into German. The mediation process of Virgil's *Aeneid* takes place through the complementary composition of text and image, which guarantees a living and vivid representation of the written content. The interaction of the *Aeneid* woodcuts with Murner's translation allowed recipients unfamiliar with the Latin language to participate in an ancient body of knowledge, transposed into a pictorial language as early as 1500 and supported by a cultural transfer realised through both a visual and a linguistic medium.

<sup>82</sup> “At a flying run, he passed through the whole company.”

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Henkel, ‘Das Bild’ (note 25), p. 410.

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